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Nazi on the Bench – Victims in the Dock

The West German Government appointed an old nazi storm trooper to judge the case of victims of nazism, it was revealed on November 30th.

The West German Government's application for the banning of the VVN (Association of Persecutees of the Nazi Regime) is being heard by the Federal Administrative Court. On the second day of the trial, a member of the public suddenly shouted: "I have here evidence that the Presiding Judge was a member of the Nazi Party and the Storm Troops."

Presiding Judge Fritz Werner immediately suspended the hearing, and after consultation the trial was adjourned to December 6th. The man who interrupted the trial, an anti-nazi-fighter who spent the entire Hitler period in concentration camps, handed the court documents showing that Judge Werner had joined the SA, Hitler's brown-shirted storm troops, in 1933, and the Nazi Party in 1937. From 1926 Werner had been a full-time official of the "Verein für das Deutschtum im Ausland" (League for Germandom in Foreign Countries). The US State Department, in Publication 1864 issued in 1943, devoted 12 pages to showing the tie-up between this organisation and the Nazi Party. Judge Werner had also acted as propaganda speaker for the National Socialist League of Jurists.

While the court was adjourned for discussion, Dr Reuss, one of the Government attorneys, told journalists in the courtroom that they should not take the charges too seriously: "Many people who joined the Nazi Party are honourable men," he stated. "In addition, the man who has made these charges is a criminal with two previous convictions on his register". Dr Reuss was referring to the fact that Auguste Baumgarte, the man in question, had been sent to prison by the nazis for anti-fascist activities, and sentenced to 30 months imprisonment by a West German court on similar charges in 1957. Dr Reuss himself wrote articles praising Hitler in legal periodicals during the nazi period.

West German attempts to ban the VVN, the main West German body of veterans of the anti-nazi struggle, most of whose 30,000 members did time in Hitler's concentration camps, began in 1959 when the VVN played a main part in the exposure and sacking of Theodor Oberlaender, former leading nazi and war criminal. The West German Government claims that the VVN "is attempting to overthrow the constitutional order of the German Federal Republic" and that it is a communist front organisation.

There have been many protests in West Germany and abroad at the attempt to gag the organisation. The Soviet Union protested to the three western powers, pointing out that the VVN was an anti-fascist organisation corresponding fully with the principles of the Potsdam Agreement. "Such actions cannot fail to recall the recent past history of Germany," the protest note stated. The Soviet Union also protested against the fact that the trial was being held in the Federal Administrative Court "situated illegally in West Berlin, which is not part of the Federal Republic".

Before the trial was interrupted by the revelations about the past record of the Presiding Judge, Dr von Winterfeld, one of the prosecuting attorneys, claimed that the activities of the VVN showed that it was a front organisation for the banned Communist Party. "The VVN claims that West Germany is run by big monopolies," he stated. "The VVN says that West Berlin has become a NATO base; the VVN states that the Federal Government has an expansionist programme; the VVN claims that many former nazi judges are back on the bench. All this shows that the organisation is infiltrated with Communist ideas."

While he was speaking, the Bavarian Ministry of Justice was announcing that Dr Karl Kolb, First State Prosecutor in Wuerzburg, had been suspended because it had become known that he had served on a nazi Special Court in occupied Poland. The charges against Dr Kolb were first published in West Germany by the VVN.

Nazi? Yes! – But "Irreproachable"

The West German Government did not attempt to deny that Judge Fritz Werner was a nazi storm trooper and party member, but commented that he was "a model irreproachable man enjoying the unlimited confidence of the Government".

Fascist Raid in Bonn

A band of thirty Croatian fascists, firing revolvers and throwing bombs, raided the Yugoslav Trade Mission in Bonn, West German capital, on November 29th. Three persons in the mission, including a 12-year-old boy, were wounded and several offices in the mission were wrecked.

The raiders were former members of the Ustashi, Croatian collaborators with nazism who sought refuge in West Germany after World War Two. Despite repeated Yugoslav protests, the Bonn Government has allowed the group to organise and publish newspapers in West Germany.

West German police had been warned of the danger of a raid on the trade mission, but had taken no measures to prevent it. After the raid was over, police rounded up some of the fascist group and announced that they would be charged with "causing a nuisance".

HATCHETS OUT IN BONN

"Spiegel" Crisis Becomes Government Crisis

At the beginning of December, the scene in the West German capital of Bonn was marked by bitter party and personal feuding, as politicians of all parties scrambled for posts in the new cabinet which was scheduled to be formed.

The Bonn crisis, which came into the open when police raided the offices of the newsmagazine "Spiegel" on October 26th, had, five weeks later, turned into a lasting and apparently insoluble government crisis. The five ministers belonging to the Free Democratic Party resigned on November 19th protesting that they could not stay in a government with Defence Minister Franz-Josef Strauss, who initiated the "Spiegel" raid and then involved himself in a series of public lies in attempting to deny his role.

Minister Strauss announced on November 30th that he would not serve in a "new Adenauer cabinet", but hinted he would soon be back.

The Christian Democrats themselves were split, and powerful sections of the party suggested that the only way out of the crisis was for Chancellor Adenauer, who will be 87 in January, to resign.

Adenauer himself, who has ruled the West German cabinet dictatorially since 1949, paid little heed to public clamour for his resignation, and appeared confident that he could patch up a workable government by his old tactics of bribing and browbeating key members of the three parties which have provided the hitherto ruling government coalition, consisting of Christian Democrats (192 parliamentary seats), Christian Social Union (50 seats) and Free Democrats (67 seats) from a total of 499 seats.

He was aided in his cabinet building efforts by the fact that his State Secretary, Hans Globke, author of the nazi racial legislation, has collected, over the past 13 years, large and very revealing secret files on the background history of nearly all leading Bonn politicians. These files are believed to contain compromising material on most of the party leaders, including all those likely to be considered for cabinet posts. The compromising material consists, according to reliable report, of three main categories:

1. Documentary evidence of activities during the nazi period: in many cases this shows nazi affiliations or complicity in war crimes; in a few cases, mostly concerning Social Democratic leaders, the evidence is exactly the opposite — it shows that the persons concerned fought the nazis from Britain and other countries, and could now be produced to blight the careers of the persons concerned by showing that they "helped to stab Germany in the back".

2. Evidence of close collaboration with the western allies in the immediate post-war period. Many politicians, in the fever of denazification, gave information to the allies which they would not like to have produced now, and others, including Adenauer himself, worked for one of the many allied intelligence organisations.

3. Evidence of corruption. During the years of the "West German economic miracle" from 1949 onwards, there were very few political figures who did not join in get-rich-quick operations which were, to say the least of it, of marginal legality.

Defence Minister Strauss, key man in the whole crisis, was aided in his hopes for an early comeback by the fact that in provincial elections in Bavaria at the end of November, his Christian Social Union actually won votes, gaining a clear majority in the Bavarian Provincial Parliament. Strauss's party won the elections largely by means of primitive nationalist appeals to the reactionary nationalism of the rural electorate: one election appeal said that the whole campaign against Strauss was a frame-up by the British "acting from motives of resentment, wounded national pride, and jealousy".

While the politicians in Bonn feuded for their share of the pork-barrel, it went almost unnoticed that the members of the editorial staff of "Spiegel", whose arrest on very doubtful charges of treason had set off the whole crisis, were still in jail without formal charges yet having been lodged against them. On November 26th, after over four weeks of searching, police finally left the editorial offices of "Spiegel", taking with them van-loads of documents.

A History of Bans, Raids

The history of West Germany almost since its foundation has been marked by bans of opposition organisations, raids on offices and homes, and the jailing of persons who held opinions which the West German Government did not like.

West German Government action against the news magazine "Spiegel" in October 1962 gained world-wide publicity, since it was the first big-scale action against a "respectable" non-leftist organ. Below we present a short listing of some of the actions against other bodies over the past eleven years, actions which went almost unnoticed in the western press:

November 23rd 1951: The West German Government applied to the Constitutional Court for the banning of the Communist Party.

January 31st 1952: Police raided Communist Party offices and the homes of leading Communists, seizing tons of files and newspapers.

July 16th 1954: The Free German Youth organisation, founded by anti-fascist refugees in Britain during the war, was declared illegal in West Germany. Previous decrees against the organisation had already led to the arrest of 11,700 young people since 1951.

November 23rd 1954: Government attorneys finally took the case against the Communist Party into court. Chief Government attorney was Hans Ritter von Lex, who had been a top civil service official in the Hitler Government.

October 27th 1955: The German-Soviet Friendship Society was banned in West Germany's important North Rhine-Westfalia Province. This followed bans in other provinces, over 1000 raids on the society's offices and the homes of its members, and a three year prison sentence for the Society's general secretary on a charge of alleged "preparation to commit high treason".

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DRAFT PROGRAMME

Materialism to Mechanisation and Fertiliser to Foreign Policy

In the past few days a lot of people in the GDR have been turning off their TV sets in the evenings, and getting down to some solid reading with a blue pencil in their hands.

They were not studying the form before filling out their football pools — though many of them did that too when they had finished their homework: they were studying the new draft programme of the Socialist Unity Party, a weighty 30,000 word document published on November 23rd.

In the coming weeks this document will be the centre of discussion in the German Democratic Republic, and everyone, whether member of the Socialist Unity Party or not, has been urged to study the draft programme, discuss it with workmates and friends, and suggest amendments or additions before the programme is discussed at the 6th Congress of the Socialist Unity Party to be held in Berlin in mid-January.

The programme is an immensely detailed and wide-ranging document, dealing with subjects ranging from manure to maternity leave, and from materialism to mechanisation.

On this and the following pages, GERMAN REPORT presents a condensed summary of some of the points of the programme most likely to interest readers abroad.

1. Introduction

"A new epoch has opened in the history of the German people: the epoch of socialism ... The Socialist Unity Party has accomplished the great mission of overcoming the split in the working class movement, and, together with all progressive forces, laying the foundations of the new era, an era dreamed of for generations by the best Germans. The Socialist Unity Party has inaugurated the greatest revolution in German history, and has brought to victory socialist production relations in the German Democratic Republic.

"Socialism is our aim ... The future belongs to socialism, in the whole of Germany, and not only in the GDR.

2. The Decline of German Imperialism

This section of the programme sketches the growth of monopoly capitalism in Germany, and notes that although capitalism is historically doomed, this does not mean that it is not still capable of rapid growth and development in certain periods. "The strength of capitalism, and its ability to take the offensive on certain sectors of the economic fighting front should not be under-estimated."

West German imperialism has obtained decisive influence in the Common Market, and dominates many branches of the western European market; it is now trying to extend this dominance and to drag all of western Europe into its aggressive plans. Imperialist contradictions have been increased by the formation of the Common Market.

"In two world wars, German imperialism has brought great misery to the German people and to other peoples. More than ten years of imperialist war led to the death of 9,940,000 Germans and many times this number of the citizens of other states".

The power and the riches of the monopolies are steadily increasing, and the share of the working people in the national income is accordingly decreasing.

"The economic laws of capitalism speed up not only the relative impoverishment of the working class, but also its absolute impoverishment," the programme states. In the class struggle the working class of West Germany, and other capitalist countries, are supported by the existence and the successful development of the entire socialist world system.

Through these successes, including the successes of the German Democratic Republic, the big bourgeoisie of West Germany have been forced to make concessions to the working class.

3. Revolutionary Change in East Germany

"The formation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (formed in 1946 by the fusion of the Communist and Social Democratic Parties, ed.) was the greatest achievement of the German working class since the 'Communist Manifesto' (1848), the growth of the revolutionary workers' movement in Germany, and the formation of the German Communist Party in 1918.

"The smashing of Hitlerite fascism by the Soviet Union and its allies in the anti-Hitler coalition marked the beginning of a new period in German history ... There was a real possibility of creating a peace-loving and democratic Germany. A united front of the working class and a coalition of all anti-fascist forces could have forced the western powers to renounce many of their measures which were directed against the national and social interests of the German people ...

"In East Germany the tasks of the anti-fascist democratic revolutionary change were mastered. Here, the working people, protected against imperialist militarist intervention by the Soviet Army, could break the forces of reaction. The fascist state machine was smashed, and replaced by an anti-fascist democratic state.

"This was a revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, in which the working class held the decisive position. The struggle for an anti-fascist democratic revolutionary change laid the foundations for the development of a genuine democracy.

"The democratic land reform broke the power of the Junkers ... the confiscation of the property of the war criminals and war profiteers broke the power of monopoly capital. The people took over the factories, and the nationally-owned sector of the

economy became the firm social-economic basis for the anti-fascist democratic social order."

In West Germany, however, the programme notes, there was no basic change in the social order, and the monopoly capitalists and Hitler's generals took over once again. The programme then lists the steps taken by the western allies and the West German monopolists to split Germany.

"In order to block the way to German imperialism once and for all, the democratic and patriotic forces of Germany, which had come together in the National Front, established the German Democratic Republic on October 7th 1949. This deprived German militarism of one third of Germany, and blocked the road to the east.

"The struggle in Germany between the anti-fascist democratic forces on the one hand and the imperialist reactionary forces on the other has resulted in the establishment of two German states with basically differing social systems: the German Democratic Republic, the state of workers and peasants, the first German peace state; and the West German state, the state of imperialists and militarists.

"The German Democratic Republic is the rightful German state, since it is implementing the aims for which German democrats and progressives, and the anti-Hitler coalition, fought in the war against Hitlerite fascism."

4. Building Socialism in the GDR

"The anti-fascist democratic revolutionary change in the GDR cleared the way for the peaceful transition to the socialist revolution and the construction of socialism. The anti-fascist democratic order became the workers' and peasants' power, the dictatorship of the proletariat."

In the GDR the construction of socialism could go ahead, with the fraternal help of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries; in West Germany the historical development towards socialism has been delayed for a certain period by the alliance between the occupation powers and the West German monopolists.

"At the same time the West German imperialists and militarists have done all they can to disturb the development of the GDR, and to bring the whole of Germany under their domination."

The programme then sketches the economic development of the GDR: since 1950, industrial production has been trebled, exports are six times as high, and the standard of living has steadily risen. Up to August 13th 1961 this development had to take place under the special conditions imposed by the existence of an open frontier with the West in Berlin, and in the midst of a sharp struggle with West German imperialism and militarism.

West Germany disrupted trade between the two German states, practiced economic espionage and sabotage, speculated in currency, recruited away scientists and specialists, etc. For many years the West German imperialists, at the cost of the citizens of the GDR, drew huge profits from the existence of the open frontier. Together with the western powers they converted West Berlin into a NATO base and a centre of espionage and subversion.

There were many other obstacles to the proper development of the economy of the GDR: the lack of many raw materials; the high rate of capital investment made necessary by the fact that industry had previously been coordinated with branches in West Germany; war damage, which was much higher in the eastern part of Germany; the national duty of the workers of the GDR to make good at least part of the huge devastation caused in the Soviet Union by the Hitlerite war.

"Today, socialist ownership of the means of production has become the firm economic basis of society. In 1961, 84.9% of the entire social product was created in the socialist sector — 70.2% in nationally-owned enterprises, and 14.7% in cooperatives. Semi-state enterprises accounted for 6.4%, and private enterprises for 8.7%. In industry, 89% of the gross product came from the socialist sector."

The victory of socialist production conditions in all branches of the economy, including agriculture, means that the chance for a re-establishment of capitalism in the GDR has been abolished once and for all.

"The system of the exploitation of man by man has been abolished, and the class antagonism present in an exploiting society has been almost completely overcome. This situation is not altered by the continued existence of small and medium private enterprises, since these are closely linked with the socialist economy.

"The gap between the working class and the intelligentsia, manufactured in the past by the bourgeoisie, has largely been removed. Instead there is a close alliance between the working class and the intelligentsia; the major part of the young socialist intelligentsia comes from the working class and peasantry.

The middle strata and artisans have altered too; they are changing from individual small producers into socialistically creative working people.

"A great change in the field of ideology and culture has been an integral part of the socialist revolution. Even during the anti-fascist democratic phase, the elements of the fascist and imperialist past in the minds of the people were largely overcome, in a period of struggle with reactionary forces. Thanks to the efforts of the Socialist Unity Party, and despite the influence of imperialist West Germany, revanchism, chauvinism and racial hatred have been banished from the German Democratic Republic; they have been replaced by international friendship, socialist internationalism, and socialist patriotism."

Turning once again to the role of West Germany, the programme states that by entering into an alliance with US imperialism, the West German imperialists hoped to implement their revanchist aims.

"West Germany has increasingly become the rallying point for all reactionary forces in western Europe. It competes with the other imperialist powers, including the USA, for hegemony in western Europe and the countries of Africa and Asia. West German imperialism has gained such weight that the USA is dependent upon its agreement when dealing with European problems. At the same time, however, West German imperialism continues to be dependent upon US imperialism.

5. Peace Policy

"The Socialist Unity Party regards the preservation of peace as the main problem of our times. It wishes to abolish the sources of war in West Germany and West Berlin. It wants to bring to an end the unbearable hostile confrontation of two German states. It wants to prevent a civil war.

"The Socialist Unity Party is guided by Lenin's principle of peaceful co-existence between states with different social systems. Peaceful co-existence is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism.

"The Socialist Unity Party is convinced that the most favourable conditions for a rapprochement between the two German states would be created by the conclusion of a German peace treaty, the removal of the NATO base and the occupation regime in West Berlin, and the conversion of West Berlin into a free city. Rapprochement would be further

helped by the acceptance of both German states in the United Nations."

The programme then sketches the conditions for the establishment of a German Confederation (see box).

The programme also promises that the GDR will support all moves to improve international relations, such as general disarmament, the abolition of foreign bases, and the encouragement of international trade.

6. All-Round Construction of Socialism

Now that socialist modes of production have been victorious in the GDR, the next stage is the all-round construction of socialism, the programme states. This will conclude the period of transition from capitalism to socialism.

"Successes so far achieved have changed our basis of comparison. Within a few years, the industrial production of the GDR will be as great as that of the entire German Reich in 1937 — apart from a few branches of the coal and iron industries — although the GDR only occupies less than one-quarter of the territory of the former German Reich.

"But even this high standard is not sufficient for socialism. The interests and the needs of the people do not allow us to stand still: they demand socialism in its entirety and complete/"

It is now necessary to press forward with a harmonious and properly related development of the whole economic structure. The basic tasks confronting the economy include a great development of the chemical industry, metallurgy, electronics, and automation. Agricultural production must be intensified and gradually industrialised.

The programme goes into great detail in its consideration of industry and agriculture, and particularly the research and further training which are the basic prerequisites for advance.

"In all fields of scientific work, fraternal, open and principled discussion of all questions at issue is necessary in order to reach objective truth. This means that dogmatic features in the treatment of theoretical questions are to be avoided or energetically overcome. Dogmatism is favourable to revisionism which, as a bearer of bourgeois ideology in the conditions of the clash between two social systems in Germany, remains a lasting danger. In order to achieve a clearly-aimed and consistent socialist ideology, the Socialist Unity Party combats both deviations."

7. The Standard of Living

"There will be a steady increase in the national income and the real income per head in the period up to 1970. The differences between the low and the high incomes will be gradually decreased, particularly because of the fact that further qualification of an increasing number of workers, and the increase in mechanisation, will reduce the number of workers in the lowest wage brackets.

"As a result of the low birth rate during the fascist war, the number of workers will continue to fall until 1970, and the number of pensioners will increase. This means that a decreasing number of workers will have to provide for a growing number of those no longer able to work, or not yet of working age.

"Under these circumstances, the planned working time will be fully taken up in meeting production targets. A further reduction in working hours will depend upon an increase in productivity above that planned, and a reduction in sickness figures.

"The basic annual holiday for workers shall be increased (at present a minimum of 14 days, ed.). Maternity leave shall be increased (at present 11 weeks on full pay, ed.). The number of nursery schools and other installations to help working women shall be increased. The capacity of the pensioners' homes shall be increased."

8. Development of the Workers' and Peasants' State

This section of the programme deals with the state organisation of the GDR, and emphasises in particular the importance of as many citizens as possible taking part at every level, particularly in voluntary unpaid functions. Women and young people should be particularly encouraged to play their full part.

"The socialist state encourages the spreading of a scientific materialist picture of the world. It follows the principle of the division of church and state. It guarantees the practice of religion in the framework of the church and religious associations."

Turing to the question of law and the courts, the programme states that the Socialist Unity Party supervises carefully that the rules of socialist legality shall be stricly preserved. New codes for civil law, criminal law and family law shall be drafted.

"The social-economic roots of crime have, in the main, been abolished in the German Democratic Republic with the overcoming of the capitalist relations of exploitation. The transition from capitalism to socialism, however, is taking place in conditions of struggle against obstinately-surviving capitalist modes of life and

A German Confederation

"The most suitable way to bring about peaceful co-existence in Germany would be the formation of a German Confederation of the two German states, which could be joined by the Free City of West Berlin.

"The formation of a German Confederation can be begun by the establishment of a minimum of correct relations and agreements between the GDR, the West German Federal Republic, and the West Berlin Free City.

The Socialist Unity Party suggests the following principles for the formation of a Confederation:

"The Confederation rests upon the sovereignty and equal rights of the two German states and the West Berlin Free City. It would not create any over-riding central state power, and would not demand any change in the social system. The bodies of the Confederation discuss and make recommendations to the parliaments and governments of the Confederation partners. The recommendations should deal in the first place with the following aims:

1. Lasting peace for the German people. Implementation of the terms of the peace treaty. A ban on nuclear weapons and carriers.

2. Step-by-step relinquishment of the military obligations arising from the membership of the two German states in differing military groupings.

3. Military neutrality and complete disarmament.

4. Coordination of the cooperation in international organisations of the Confederation partners.

5. Establishment and extension of normal relations between the two German states, and between the GDR and West Berlin, in the fields of economy, trade, culture, science and sport.

These first steps towards overcoming the partitioning of Germany could be followed by others, leading to the complete re-establishment of state unity."

(From the Draft Programme of the Socialist Unity Party)

Ten Socialist Commandments

1. You shall always support the international solidarity of the working class and all working people, and the unassailable alliance of all socialist countries.

2. You shall love your homeland, and always be ready to devote your whole strength and ability to the defence of the workers' and peasants' state.

3. You shall help to abolish the exploitation of man by man.

4. You shall do good deeds for socialism, since socialism leads to a better life for all working people.

5. You shall act, in building socialism, in the spirit of mutual help and fraternal cooperation; respect the collective, and pay heed to its criticisms.

6. You shall protect and increase the property of the people.

7. You shall always strive to increase your capabilities, be economical and strengthen socialist labour discipline.

8. You shall bring up your children in the spirit of peace and socialism as broadly-educated, strongly-charactered, and physically-fit persons.

9. You shall live a decent and respectable life, and respect your family.

10. You shall display solidarity with those nations fighting for their national liberation and defending their national independence.

(From the Draft Programme of the Socialist Unity Party)

thought, constantly reinforced from without, and this has its influence upon crime rates.

"The growing strength of our society has provided the right conditions for drawing the broad masses of the public into the struggle against breaches of the law. Measures of social education, and the utilisation of forms of punishment not involving deprivation of liberty are coming more and more into the foreground in the fight against crime.

"As long as the West German imperialists make criminal attacks against the workers' and peasants' state, and as long as serious crimes persist, enemies of our system will be treated with the full severity of the law.

9. Education and Culture

"In building socialism, the working people of the GDR are not only altering their material and cultural mode of life, but also themselves. Man in socialist society sees as his aims the basic rules of socialist ethics and morals (see box).

"The socialist education system must produce a young generation ready and willing, both physically and mentally, to do both mental and manual work, and to play an active part in social life."

The programme goes into some detail on the way in which traditional school work shall be combined with technical training in industry or agriculture in such a way as to produce a properly rounded young generation capable of playing a full role in socialist society. Extension schools of all sorts must help in further qualification.

"The development of socialist art and literature demands planned measures to encourage the careers of talented young writers, artists, actors, etc."

10. The Socialist World System

"The socialist world system is the greatest achievement of the international working class movement in this century. The starting point and basis for the socialist world system is the USSR ... The attitude towards the USSR is, as always, the touchstone for the policy of the communist and workers' parties, and the socialist states; it is decisive for success in the struggle against revisionism, sectarianism and nationalism ...

"The socialist world system has reached a stage at which it is necessary to take steps to create a united economic organism in the framework of the entire system.

"The Socialist Unity Party welcomes and supports the efforts to build, step by step, a united economic organism of the Council for Economic Mutual Aid, and later of the states of the whole socialist world system.

"In the worldwide economic competition with capitalism, the socialist world system is confident of victory. The Socialist Unity Party and the working people of the German Democratic Republic will do all they can to contribute to this joint victory.

11. The Party

The Socialist Unity Party is the conscious and organised vanguard of the German working class and the working people. It bases itself on the firm foundations of Marxism-Leninism. The Party applies creatively the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin to the concrete historic conditions in Germany. It preserves, as the apple of its eye, the purity of Marxism-Leninism against all revisionist tendencies, against every dogmatic and sectarian narrowness, and against chauvinism and nationalist arrogance ...

"The creative application of the Leninist norms in party life is a basis condition for the solution of the new tasks. Our Party works on the living principle of democratic centralism. It links the principle of subordinating the minority to the majority ... with the fight against conservatism and dogmatic immobility. The Party struggles against the cult of the personality and its results, and opposes the dogmatic ideological opinions which were fostered in the period of the cult of the personality ...

12. The Future: Communism

"Socialism is the first step in the development of communism. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union has already set its programme for the building of communist society ...

"The all-round building of socialism, and after its conclusion the transition to communism, will take place in the German Democratic Republic independently of developments in the West German state. The situation which has grown up historically in partitioned Germany has, however, produced special conditions both for the construction of socialism and for the transition to communism in the German Democratic Republic ...

"The victory of socialist production relations in the German Democratic Republic means that it is a whole epoch in advance of West Germany ... The West German state, a state of monopoly capital, militarism and clericalism, threatens the peace and the life of the German people. If they want to live in peace and security, then the working people of West Germany cannot and will not tolerate this situation ...

"The most favourable conditions for the all-round construction of socialism and the transition to communism in the German Democratic Republic will be provided when imperialism and militarism have been overcome in West Germany, and when the two German states are engaged in peaceful competition in the framework of a coalition. In all decisions on further steps in the direction of communism, the Socialist Unity Party will carefully weigh these special conditions."

(cont. from page 198)

Bans, Raids

March 15th 1956: Police raids which included arrests and the seizure of files were aimed at the remaining offices of the German-Soviet Friendship Society, the National Front, Socialist Action (an organisation of progressive Social Democrats), and the Committee for Unity and Freedom in German Sport. In one town, the police also raided the Social Democratic youth organisation "Falken" and seized a copy of the Japanese anti-war film "Children of Hiroshima".

August 17th 1956: The Constitutional Court finally handed down its verdict banning the Communist Party. Immediately afterwards, thousands of West German police raided Communist Party offices, searched the homes of party leaders, arrested several hundred Communists and closed down thirteen newspapers and seven other publications.

April 10th 1957: The West German Government announced the banning of the Democratic Women's Federation. The ban was accompanied by police raids on the organisation's offices, which were sealed. All files were seized.

March 3rd 1959: Police squads searched and sealed the offices of the West German Peace Committee in main industrial cities of West Germany. Other organisations hit by the raids included the League of Culture, the Movement for All-German Understanding and the Mutual Aid Society, which organised holidays in the GDR for working-class children.

December 10th—11th 1959: West German police arrested more than 50 people allegedly implicated in publishing underground issues of the Communist Party press.

April 8th 1960: Leading members of the West German Peace Committee were convicted of "attempting to overthrow the Federal Republic" after a five month trial in Dusseldorf.

August 1st 1960: Two leaders of the World Youth Festival Committee of West Germany were sentenced to 24 and 18 months in prison on charges of "subversive and unconstitutional activities dangerous to the state." They had urged young people to go to World Youth Festivals in Bucharest (1953) and in Warsaw (1955).

July 7th 1961: The West German organisation "Happy Holidays for All Children" was forbidden as a subversive organisation. It had arranged for holidays for about 10,000 mostly needy children in holiday camps in the GDR.

Strategy & "Spiegel"

By Hajo Herbell, Military Affairs Commentator

When Franz-Josef Strauss reached for the telephone during the night of October 27th and launched the operation against the "Spiegel", he probably did not dream of the long smouldering crisis he was precipitating.

There are many reasons for the crisis: the emergency laws, the collapse of Bonn claims to be a "state of law", the bankruptcy of Bonn's domestic and foreign policy, the ending of the Adenauer era. Interwoven with all these, however, there is a military-political reason for the crisis, which also deserves our attention.

In West Germany there is a largely unorganised, yet broad and rapidly growing opposition to the military-political and strategic policy of Strauss and his Ultras. This policy includes Bundeswehr control over its own nuclear missiles, the expansion of West German influence in NATO, and orientation on an atomic war against the East based on the "Forward Strategy".

Officers who have attempted to express opposition inside the Bundeswehr have been severely disciplined. Generals Laegeler, Reichelt, Schnez and Wessel were pensioned off or demoted because they did not fully support atomic armaments or an atomic strategy.

In view of this, the military men in opposition — whose courage and political consistency should not be overestimated — tried to get their ideas across in another way; they leaked them to the magazine "Spiegel". They hoped this would lead to a public discussion on military-political and strategic questions which would wreck Strauss' policy.

Why do so many Bundeswehr officers oppose Strauss? They are certainly not enemies of German militarism, peace advocates or even communists, but simply soberer and more realistic than Strauss. They realise that the atomic strategy of the Ultras has nothing to do with "defence of the Federal Republic", that it is aggressive and can only lead to the destruction of West Germany.

That is also what was contained in the much-discussed article on the Bundeswehr and the "Fallex 62" NATO manoeuvres which appeared in the "Spiegel" early in October. It described the probable results of Strauss' atomic "Forward Strategy": "After a few days major portions of the Federal Republic were destroyed ... 10 to 15 million dead ... Officials and observers at the manoeuvres were shaken ..." Strauss based his attack on the "Spiegel" on just this article.

Even western observers hardly believe that there was any real question of treason in connection with this article. Hanson Baldwin, prominent military expert of the "New York Times", stated that the "Fallex", article was fairly severe but appeared to carry little information that was not generally known. Interestingly enough, officers of the Bundeswehr have also offered to testify that there was not treason involved.

Strauss attacked the "Spiegel" not because the article was treasonable, but because it reflected the views of the military opposition, because it showed the terrible consequences of the Strauss policies, because it confirmed the claims of the opponents of atomic war, because it warned the public and mobilised them against the Ultras.

Strauss attacked especially furiously because he knew that the opposition in the Bundeswehr had the support of important American military men and politicians in the Kennedy government. These men favour polemics against the Bonn war minister because they too are soberer and more careful than Strauss, and because they do not want to be dragged by Bonn towards atomic annihilation. But Strauss also has his foreign backers — the main one is General Norstad, who was retired recently, but is still acting commander of NATO.

On November 26th the American magazine "Newsweek" stated that the "Spiegel" affair started in Paris when General Norstad sent a protest to the Strauss ministry claiming that the "Spiegel" material violated NATO interests.

The military-political controversy behind the "Spiegel" affair is thus not restricted to West Germany. It is a continuation of the conflict on NATO strategy which has lasted a whole year and will doubtless reach a climax at the December NATO Council.

Although the "Spiegel" affair and the government crisis have centred around the person of Strauss — there is much more involved. What is at stake is West Germany's official military policy and the whole dangerous NATO course. That is why just dropping Strauss would be no solution. A completely new policy of good sense and peace is required.

(Condensed from an article in "Neues Deutschland", East Berlin, November 29th)

BERLIN NOTEBOOK

By John Peet

Far-flung readers of GERMAN REPORT will not be getting this issue until Christmas is far behind, but those nearer should get it while their radios are still batting out "White Christmas" and "Silent Night", so a note on the festive season in the German Democratic Republic may not be out of place.

No Ban

As usual at this season, we should like to emphasise that Christmas trees, and Christmas generally, are not banned in the GDR. For some reason, this hoary old phoney (no, Virginia, I do not mean Santa Claus) still gets hawked around early every December in some western newspaper or other. On the contrary, the radio, TV, shops and newspapers simply burst with Christmas spirit, and even "Neues Deutschland", central organ of the Socialist Unity Party, tends to come out wreathed in twigs of festive greenery and featuring slightly gormless pictures of workers and peasants and their children gazing at burning candles. As you may gather from these jaundiced sentences, I sometimes have a slightly Scrooge-like attitude to the season myself, particularly when it starts in the middle of November.

But to get back to the "banned Christmas tree" lark: one of the hardy annuals in the western press is the photograph of a Christmas tree in West Berlin near the frontier of the German Democratic Republic. The annual heart-plucking caption says something about a "brightly lit tree casting its message of goodwill across the border into the gloom of Red Berlin, where Christmas trees are banned by the Reds".

Mighty Tree

This much-pictured free western tree generally stands at Checkpoint Charlie, the American-manned West Berlin frontier post on Berlin's Friedrich Strasse. GDR frontier guards must have got just as tired of this journalistic guff as I have, for I noticed as early as November 28th that they had erected a perfectly enormous tree on the East Berlin side of the frontier, thus stealing a march on the West Berlin Christmas tree erecting squad.

I rather doubt whether it will do any good, particularly since the camera cannot lie, and it will still be perfectly possible to photograph the "western" tree from such an angle that the "eastern" tree will not show up on the picture. But perhaps a spot of peaceful competition about who can celebrate Christmas most festively is really quite a good thing.

Luxury

Immediately after typing the above lines, I leant back and picked up a copy of the Paris edition of the "New York Herald Tribune" dated November 29th, and before I had worked my way through to the page-full of comic strips (Pogo is my favourite) I found myself confronted by the headline: "Few East Berlin Signs of Yule; Luxuries Aplenty in the West".

The article underneath was a run of the mill A.P. report on "drab, depressing East Berlin ... deserted ... sidewalks are almost empty ... little buying is noticeable ..."

These stories always make me wonder what city I happen to be living in. When I go shopping I often find myself quietly cursing the crowds in the shops, which make it difficult to get quick service.

But I was cheered up when I learned from the article about the Christmas gifts I could buy if I lived in West Berlin — "Chinchilla, sable, mink. Diamonds, sapphires, pearls and plenty of gold at the jewelers ...". Or could I?

L for Bet

When I casually mentioned in a Notebook a few weeks ago (October 26th) the trick telephone alphabet beginning "A for Orses", I did not really expect much response, but faithful readers have been firing in lists from all parts of the globe, including Moscow. For some reason, pedagogues seemed particularly interested; three letters so far came from university common rooms, and several others from teachers. I was firmly informed that the listing did not originate in the Second World War, as I thought; it was variously ascribed to British comedians Flanagan and Allen, and anonymous Fleet Street journalists "well before 1934".

The alphabets varied immensely, though they obviously had one common progenitor, since several letters always turned up in the same form (A, F, J, L, T and X). Here then is the list, with some of the more amusing variants:

A for Orses
B for Mutton
for Brook
C for Thailanders
D for Dumb
for Ential
E for Brick
for Adam
F for Vesence
G for Police
H for Retirement
I for Novello
for An Eye
J for Oranges
K for Ancis
for Restaurant
L for Leather
M for Sis
N for Lope
for A Dig
for Hoxha
O for Coat
for the Garden Wall
P for Comfort
Q for Fish
R for Mo
for Pint
S for You
T for Two
U for Me
V for La France
W for a Quid
X for Breakfast
Y for Mistress
Z for Breezes

Only two footnotes seem necessary: Ivor Novello was a British stage star; Kay Francis was a Hollywood actress.

Dense Readers

"The Bulletin", official weekly English-language publication of the West German Government, notes happily in an article on the West German Press on October 30th: "Statistics show that the density of readers is also becoming greater". But they are luckily not yet dense enough to accept all the tripe that Adenauer feeds them.

I would chortle more happily about this gaff if I were absolutely certain that GERMAN REPORT was not liable to pull a similar boner any time. I still remember the time when I was reading the page proofs just before the paper went to bed, and discovered that I had been writing about "revolting peasants" instead of rebellious ones.

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